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A CONJECTURE AS TO THOMAS HEYWOOD'S
FAMILY

"of what parents you proceede
I am meereley ignorant".

"Then am I nothing,
And till I know whence my descent hath bene,
Or from what house deriv'd, I am but aire,
And no essentiall substance of a man".

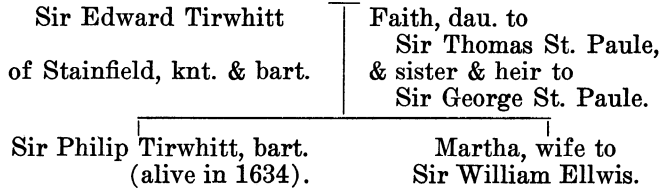
The Golden Age. (*Works*, III, 43.)

Thomas Heywood twice indirectly states, if we interpret the word *country* in the sense, so common with him as with his contemporaries, of *county*, that he was a native of Lincolnshire. In verses prefixed to a volume of heraldic and genealogical lore, *The Union of Honour*, by James Yorke, a Lincoln blacksmith, Heywood addresses the author as "my Friend and Country-man"; and among the miscellaneous poems gathered into Heywood's *Pleasant Dialogues and Drammas* is *A Funerall Elegie upon the death of the thrice noble Gentleman Sir George Saint Poole of Lincolne-shire my Country-man*.

Heywood makes two other like allusions where the county is not named. In his *Gunaikeion* (pp. 262-3) he tells, with much relish, how a wilful suitor was rebuffed by a witty wench, "a faire young gentlewoman, a countrey woman of mine"; and in the dedication, addressed to Sir Henry Appleton, of *The English Traveller*, he speaks gratefully of "your friend, and my countreyman, Sir William Elvish".

Lincolnshire has a distinguished group of local antiquarians, but none of those to whom my inquiries went had any knowledge of Heywood as a son of the county, nor could discover, although several of them made skilled investigations, any trace or record of him there. The Probate Registry shows that there were Heywoods of humble station in Elizabethan Lincolnshire, but there was apparently no landed family of dignity and continuance, as the *Visitations* of the county do not contain a Heywood pedigree. I am indebted to the Rev. H. O. Massingberd of Ormsby Rectory, Alford, for a pedigree

from the *Visitation of Lincolnshire*, 1634, at the Heralds' Office. The pedigree stands:



This pedigree, although we must bear in mind the uncertainty of the names, suggests a connection by marriage between the subject of Heywood's elegy, Sir George St. Poole, there celebrated for bounty and hospitality as well as for other virtues, and the kindly friend who encouraged Heywood to write, Sir William Elvish. It adds a shade of confirmation to the impression given by Heywood's works that he came of a family accustomed to gentle association. The St. Pooles had been a leading house in Lincolnshire throughout the sixteenth century, but Sir George St. Poole, who was created a baronet in 1611 and died in 1614 without children, was the last of his line.

Sir Henry Appleton was of Essex (see *Cal. State Papers, Domestic*, Nov. 18, 1623; also May 10, 1637), but apparently his son, Sir Henry Appleton, married for his first wife a Lincolnshire lady, "Sarah, daughter of Sir Thomas Oldfield of Spalding, Lincolnshire". (Burke's *Extinct Baronetcies*.) In dedicating *The English Traveller*, published in 1633, to Sir Henry Appleton, Heywood says: "For many reasons I am induced, to present this Poem, to your favourable acceptance; and not the least that alternate Love, and those frequent curtesies which interchangably past, betwixt your selfe and that good old Gentleman, mine unkle (Master *Edmund Heywood*) whom you pleased to grace by the title of Father".

The will of "Edmond Heywood of the parish of Christchurch London gentleman" is preserved at Somerset House. It was made October 7, 1624, and proved February 1, 1626, by his only child, "Anne Wright, widow", and William Screven. It states that the testator, evidently a citizen of substance, had passed most of his life in the office of the Exche-

quer, and asks that the body be buried in Christ Church,—which apparently was not done, as the name is not in the registers. The will, by its bequest to “Thomas Heywoode and his wief”, establishes the fact of Heywood’s marriage. It mentions Sir Henry Appleton twice and is of special interest for its kindly, religious temper, so like Heywood’s own, and for its tender indulgence of even the whims and crotchets of the bedridden old wife, whom, since she “is now unfitt to take care of the things of this world”, the will places in charge of her daughter. This very human document reads as follows:

IN THE NAME OF GOD AMEN

the Seaventh daie of October in the yeare of our lord god
One thousande six hundred Twentie and fower And in the
yeare of the Raigne of our soveraigne Lord Kinge James of
England France and Ireland the two and twentieth And of
Scotland the eight and fiftieth I Edmond Heywood of the
parish of Christchurch London gentleman beinge of good
and perfect mynde and memorie laude and praise therefore
be given to allmightie god Neverthelesse consideringe with my
self that all flesh is mortall and must die, and that nothinge
is more certaine then death, and yett nothinge more uncer-
taine then the hower and time thereof I doe therefore make
and declare this my last will and testament in manner and
forme followinge That is to saie First and principallie I
comende my soule to Allmightie god my Creator and to Jesus
Christ my onelie Savior and Redeemer, By whose merritts,
and by whose moste precious death and passion I onlie trust
and Assuredlie beleewe to be saved and to be made partaker
of the kingdome of Heaven with the Elect Children of god.
And my bodie I comende to the Earth from whence it came
and to be buried in the parish church of Christ-church at the
discretion of my Executors hereunder named. Item I will
that all my debts, which I shall trulie owe at the time of my
decease to anie person or persons shalbe first paide and sat-
isfied as the same are or shalbe due to be paide, Also I doe
further will that if I have or shall have received at the time
of my decease anie money of my Client for business to be

donne and have not performed the same, but in conscience I ought to have donne and performed it that then I desire my lovinge and kinde friende Mr. William Screven beinge one of my Executors that he will undertake the performance thereof for whose care in that behalf I will he shall have a Ringe of gould of Thirtye Shillings price to weare for my sake, Alsoe I give to the poore of the parish of Christchurch The some of Sixe poundes to be disposed of in this sorte that is to saie, three poundes thereof in Bread on the daie of my funeralle and the other three poundes in bread alsoe on the feast of the Nativitie of our lord then next followinge by the churchwardens of the saide parish for the time beinge Alsoe I give to the poore Children harboured in Christes Hospitall the some of three poundes. Item I give to Sir Henrie Apleton knight and Barronett a Ringe of gould of Thirtie Shillings price or soe much in gould. Alsoe I give to my cosen Hudson and to his wife each of them a Ringe of gould of twentie shillings price, and to Mr. Christopher Hudson and his wife the like legacies. Item I give to each of my god children which shalbe livinge at the time of my decease, three shillings fower pence to make each of them a feomall Ringe to weare for my sake. Alsoe I give to Mr. Doctor Daniell Price deane of Hereford a Ring of gould of Twentie Shillings price and to his wief a Ring of gould of Thirteene Shillings fower pence price. Item I give to Master Doctor Sampson Price a Ringe of gould of twentie shillings price, and to his wief a ringe of gould of Thirteene Shillings fower pence price. Likewise I give to my cosen Henrye Pearson a ring of gould of Twentie Shillings price, and to my cosen Fairebrother his sister Thirteene shillings fower pence to make her a Ringe—Item I give to John Hooke and his wief, Edward Sanders and his wief each of them a Ringe of gould of Twentie shillings price, or soe much in gould. further I give to Thomas Heywoode and his wief, William Heywoode and his wief / each of them Twentie shillings in goulde and to the saide William Heywoode one of my ould Cloakes, a suite of ould apparell and a hatt suche as my Executors shall thinke fittinge. Item I give to my cosen Fawcett and his wief

each of them a Ringe of gould of twentie Shillings, and to him a mourninge Cloake, and to her a mourninge stuffe Gowne. Likewise I give to my daughter my Ring which the ladie Birde gave me to weare for a Remembrance of her husband Sir William Birde and to my daughter a mourninge Gowne. And further I give to Anne Wright my Grandchild my best standinge Cupp and cover. Alsoe I give to Heywoode Wrighte my god-sonne and Grandchild my second standinge Cupp and cover, And to Henrie Wright my Grandchild my thirde standing Cupp and cover. And to Marie Wright my Grandchild my best Salt and a little white silver Cupp, and to Elizabeth Wrighte my lesser salt which I use dailie, and twoe little guilt wyne Cupps, and to Martha Wright my Grandchild two little lowe guilt Cupps, and a dozen of silver spoones. Item I give to my saide daughter the rest of my plate and all my goodes and Chattells which I have (videl) the Lease of my house wherein I dwell, And the lease of the George at Warwick-lane-ende, And the lease of the houses at Pye Corner which I boughte of the Executors of Mr. Kirke— Item I give to the right noble the Ladie Hamfert fourtie shillings in gould to make her a Ringe if she be livinge at the time of my decease Item I give to my Clerks that shalbe dwellinge with me at the time of my Decease each of them a mourninge cloake and each of them a Ringe of gould of tenne shillings price And I give to each of my maide servants that shall be dwellinge with me at the time of my Decease a mourninge gowne of stuffe, And moreover I give to Susan Franklin if she be dwellinge with me at the time of my Decease the some of ten pounds to be paide to her at the daie of her marriage Item I give to Mr. William Sutton and his wief each of them a Ringe of gould of five shillings a peece. Item my will and meaninge is that my saide grandchild Anne Wright shall have the benefitt of the Sheepe which Sir Henry Apleton hath in keepinge the number of them I know not but I am fullie assured he will doe all righte. And alsoe that she shall have the XXVI lb. which is in my handes, and came of the benefitt of the saide Sheepe, and which I have allreadie received of the saide Sir Henrie Apleton, over and above the legacye and portion lymitted unto her by this my will, which portion

over and above her former legacye, and the said sixe and twentie pounds, and the other benefitt of the saide sheepe, my will and meaning is shalbe of my guift the some of Two Hundred poundes to be paide unto her at the daie of her marriage if and in case she marry with the likinge and consent of her mother. But if she marrye without the likinge and consent of her mother and best frendes, Then my mynde is that she shall have noo benefitt at all of my saide guift, And whereas my intent and meaninge was to have given and left to Magdalen my wellbeloved wief, with whom I have by the goodness of god lived a long time the greatest part of myne estate for her maintenance during her lief, and to have beene disposed of by her after her death But consideringe howe it hath pleased god to vissit her longe with lamenes whereby and by reason of her other weaknes and imperfections which comonlie doth attende auld age she is nowe unfitt to take care of the thinges of this world I thought it better to dispose of these Temporall blessings with which god hath indued me; accordinge as it is declared in this my will And to leave my saide wief to the care of her naturall and onlie child then to expose her and my substance to strangers that maie happen to regarde it more then her, Neavertheles my will and meaninge is, And I doe give and bequeath unto my saide wief the some of fiftie poundes to be paide unto her within one quarter of a yeare after my Decease together with all her wearinge apparell and her hatt bande set with goulde buttons and her ringe to be disposed of as she shall think good, And for her further and better maintenance I doe will charge and commande my saide daughter that she shall provide for, keepe and maintaine my saide wief in such good sorte manner and fashion with meate drinke fireinge apparrell and all other necessities as is fitt and necessarie for her duringe her lief, And that shee shall contynue in the house duringe her lief where we nowe dwell / And she shall provide and keepe for her a woman accordinge to her owne likinge to attende her contynuallie, besides a maide servante to help to lifte her to and fro, And this I charge her trulie and honestlie to performe accordynge to my will as she will answeare it before god at the dreadfull daie of Judgment when the secretts of

all harts shalbe disclosed. And whereas I have made choise of, and doe intreate the aforenamed Mr. William Screven beinge my verie lovinge frende and kinde neighbour to take upon him togeather with my saide daughter the Execution of this my last will for as much as I am assured that he doth not nor will not expect benefitt by this his Executorship, soe that it wilbe onelie a trouble unto him. Therefore out of my love towards him I further give him the some of five poundes and a mourninge Cloake, and unto his wief a Ringe of gould of Thirteene Shillings fower pence price. Alsoe I give unto the right noble Sir John Osborne knighte Treasurer, Remembrancer of the Exchequer in which office I lived and spent moste of my daies a Ring of gould of Fortie shillings price intreatinge him to accepte of it Item I give to Alice Stoddard wief of Anthonye Stoddard a Ringe of gould of Thirteene shillings fower pence price, And to Grace Revell a Ringe of gould of Thirteene Shillings fower pence price And to Sarah Houghton a Ringe of Thirteene Shillings fower pence price. Item I doe forgive Oliver Houghton the some of eight and thirtie Shillings which he owes me Item I give to the saide Anthonie Stoddard a Ringe of gould of Thirteene Shillings fower pence price and one of my cloakes. And nowe of this my last Will and Testament—Revokinge hereby all former wills I doe make and Ordaine the saide Master Screven, and my daughter Wright my Executors—Provided allwaies and my true intent Will and meaninge is, that all my debts and all the legacies hereby by me given and bequeathed shalbe raised and paide out of myne owne personall estate sould by my Executors for the performance thereof, Notwithstandinge anie guift or bequest of that lease or of anie other of my goodes or chattells before made unto my saide daughter in this my Will. In wittnes whereof I have hereunto sett my hande and seale the daie and yeare first above written, Per me Edmund Heywood, Sealed Subscribed published and delivered as my last Will and Testament in the presence of Walt. Leigh, David Buckle.

Only in case of a few persons whose names occur in the above testament are wills to be found at Somerset House, and no one of these sheds any light on the Heywoods.

A number of Heywood wills of the period I have searched, but without result. In these the names Thomas Heywood, Edmund Heywood, William Heywood, John Heywood, Anne Heywood, are only too common. There was an ancient family of Heywood Hall, between Rockdale and Bury in Lancashire, seated there from the time of Edward I. It produced a poet, Robert Heywood, who died in 1645. It is supposed that from a younger branch—the pedigree is incomplete—descended the non-conformist Heywoods of Yorkshire. One of these, Dr. Oliver Heywood, son of Richard Heywood who died about 1676, was a preacher and theologian of some note. Of this branch was Peter Heywood, justice of peace at Westminster, who was slain by a recusant in 1640. (*Hist. MSS. Commission; Report of Manuscripts in Various Collections*, vol. II, p. 260.) Another well-known Heywood, or Haywood, contemporary with the dramatist, was the royalist divine, Dr. William Heywood, who rose rapidly in the church, becoming one of Laud's domestic chaplains, chaplain in ordinary to Charles I and prebendary of St. Paul's. This is the "Master Heywood" who, representing "my Lord of Canterbury", from 1631 on into 1637 occasionally appears in the Stationers' Registers as licensing for publication books of religious or learned character, and was mistaken by Fleay (*English Drama*, 1, 282) for a master stationer who might, Fleay thought, be identified with the dramatist.

What knowledge we have of Thomas Heywood does not indicate kinship with any of these. It is natural to wish that his ancestry might be traced back to that "trusty and well-beloved clerke Maistre Thomas Heywode Dean of the Cathedral church of Lychefeld" in the reign of Edward IV. I am indebted to Miss Cora L. Scofield for note of various mentions of this worthy in the *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Signed Bills, and Warrants for Issues*; and Lichfield still remembers its old cathedral bell which Cromwell's men demolished,—the bell called *Jesus* and inscribed with the legend:

“I am the bell of Jesus, and Edward is our king;
Sir Thomas Heywood first caused me to ring”.

But although there is little chance of establishing connection there, it does not seem too much to hope that an expert in such research may yet definitely determine whether or no Thomas Heywood the playwright was related to the earlier John Heywood, maker of interludes. It has been often stated that there could not be kinship between them on the double ground that John Heywood, whose two sons, Jasper and Ellis, became Jesuit fathers, was a firm Romanist, fleeing England on Elizabeth's accession, while Thomas Heywood was a Protestant; and that John Heywood held lands in Kent, whereas Thomas Heywood was of Lincolnshire. As to the first of these reasons, a change in creed would be amply accounted for by the changes in the times. Thomas Heywood was as devout in the new faith of his day as was John Heywood in that of the mother-church, both men being exceptionally earnest in religion, but it should be noted that Thomas Heywood's great patron, the Earl of Worcester, was a Catholic. The second reason would vanish if some more fortunate investigator should be able to establish what can be yet only a conjecture,—that Thomas Heywood was the grandson of one Richard Heywood, a London barrister, who held manors both in Kent and Lincolnshire. The next step would be to show relationship between John Heywood, who married a niece or grandniece of Sir Thomas More (cf. Farmer: Facsimile of Heywood's *Play of Love*, p. VI, with Bang: *John Heywood und sein Kreis*, Englische Studien, Bd. 38, p. 234, foot-note) and Richard Heywood, who is mentioned in Roper's *Life of More* (in some editions of which the name is misprinted *Chaywood*) as one of the gentlemen “of good credit” present at More's arraignment and reporting the proceedings to the family. William Roper the biographer, More's son-in-law, who held property both at Eltham in Kent and in St. Dunstan's parish, Canterbury, was associated with Richard Heywood in legal practice. Richard Heywood's four sons were Christopher, John, Edmund, and Thomas, all More or Roper names. Richard Heywood's will, of which I made a transcript at Somerset House, mentions three brothers, “William Heywoode of Stoke

in the countie of Essex'', to whose widow he bequeathes forty shillings; "Sir Thomas Heywoode the parson'', to whom he bequeathes twenty pounds; and John Heywoode, to whom he bequeathes "a ringe of gould of 40s and a black gowne''. The will, not dated, was proved June 1, 1570, when John Heywood the Epigrammatist was apparently living at Malines. He is supposed to have been born about 1497, and Richard Heywood, admitted to Lincoln's Inn July 25, 1534, was probably not much younger. The Admission Book of Lincoln's Inn was most kindly searched for me by W. Blake Odgers, K. C., of the Temple, who writes: "It was a 'special admittance': that would mean that he was older than most, or had some special interest. And in two years, by Nov. 12, 1536, he is a Fellow of the House, i. e. a full member, a Barrister (with a clerk!), *not a Bench*er''. Even if a Catholic fugitive could inherit under Elizabethan law, it seems unlikely that a "black gowne" would be sent to Belgium. My surmise would be, not that John Heywood of the interludes and Richard Heywood were brothers, but kinsmen by a more distant remove. Mr. Blake Odgers comments further upon the entries of which he sent copies: "Then two young Heywoods are admitted in 1557 and 1564, Stephen and John. * * * I find one thing which suggests that your Richard was related to John, and *not* to Stephen. Richard shared chambers with William Rooper (see entry of 1567) * * * and when John was admitted, a 'Thomas Rooper' went surety for his good behavior while a student''. This was probably the eldest son of William Roper, who was himself a man of sixty-eight when John Heywood was admitted. William Roper was steadfast in the Catholic faith to the end of his life. It is significant that he was summoned before the Privy Council, July 8, 1568, on the charge of having relieved English Papists who had fled the country. It is a reasonable inference that Richard Heywood, who seems to have been counted among More's friends and who shared Roper's chambers, was himself in sympathy with the old religion.

In all mentions of the two barristers, including his own, Richard Heywood seems to hold the inferior position. Yet he kept his clerk, supervised wills, bought and sold real es-

tate, and lent money on mortgage, as in case of the valuable manor of Woolwich in Kent, which he thus acquired, in 1554, at what was alleged to be less than one third of its value. Perhaps it was by similar shrewd practice that he gained his three manors in Lincolnshire, besides considerable property in Sussex, Middlesex, and Salisbury. His interest in education is attested by the fact that he was one of the six original governors of Highgate Grammar School. His will, in phraseology so eminently legal a document that it covers six or seven folio pages, makes his second son John, to whom he especially leaves his law-books, his principal heir. He provides for a third son, Edmund, who is to be educated "at the universitie of oxforde or suche other conveniente places of learninge"; and for a fourth son, Thomas, who is charged to mind his book and please his mother. The will also makes provision for an unmarried daughter, Anne, and remembers a married daughter, Mary Norden, wife of Edward Norden, gentleman. This fourth son, Thomas Heywood, cannot be the dramatist, for the dates are a little too early and, besides, he would lack an Uncle Edmund. If of this family at all, his father must have been Richard Heywood's eldest son, the disinherited Christopher, for Thomas was too young, and at John Heywood's death, presumably in 1605 or 1606, his eldest son, John Heywood, was but thirteen years old. (*Inquisition post mortem*, 3 James.)

Richard Heywood died May 2, 1570, his son Christopher being then "aged 30 years and more". (*Inquisition post mortem*, 14 Elizabeth.) By the exceedingly precise and elaborate provisions of the old lawyer's will, his manor of Woolwich in Kent, with its seven dwelling-houses, three barns, one dovecote, four gardens, four orchards and six hundred acres of arable land, pasture, marsh, wood and heath; his manor of Somercotes in Lincolnshire, with its cottage and one hundred acres of land; and his manor, called Uphall, in Little Carlton, Lincolnshire, with three hundred acres, were left, in addition to other property, to his widow, under certain conditions, for her lifetime, and after her death to John Heywood and his sons. Such descendants failing, Edmund and his sons

were to stand next in succession, then Thomas and his sons, then the sons of Richard Heywood's daughters and of his brother William and, in a last event, the "heires females" of his sons John, Edmund, and Thomas. The testator further appointed four trustees who were to take possession "ymediatelie" after his decease of his manor of Kelstern in Lincolnshire "and all other my landes and Tenements whatsoever they be accepted reputed and taken or knowne in part or parcell of the same manor, set lienge and beinge within the saide countie of Lincolne, To have and to hould the same unto them and their assignes duringe the lyfe of Xtofer Heywoode my sonne, and after the decease of the same Xtofer, The remaynder thereof unto John Heywoode my sonne to theires males of the bodie of the saide John lawfullie begottenn''. But all the old barrister's pains went for naught. There was not scrivener's ink enough in Lincoln's Inn to set aside the rights of primogeniture. Christopher Heywood was recognized at the inquest as his father's nearest heir. Richard Heywood had not been eight months in his grave before his widow, Katharine, was doing her best to settle the manors on her intended husband, William Parry. John Heywood appealed to Chancery to uphold the will, but it was the "unthrift" Christopher who, within three years after his father's death, began to sell off Woolwich, which by the summer of 1580 had finally passed into the hands of a London mercer. (For detail see Drake's ed. of Hasted's *History of Kent*. Part I.) Eight years later John Heywood relinquished Kelstern, which should not, if his father's will had any validity in the matter, have come to him until after Christopher's death. The muniments of the manor may some time throw light on the proceedings thus briefly recorded: "At Westminster in the octaves of S. Hilary 30 Elizabeth Between Henry Clifford esquire and William Rodley plaintiffs and John Haywood esquire deforciant of the manor of Kelstern with the appurtenances of 14 houses gardens &c in Kelstern and Ludford. J. Haywood acknowledges the right of Henry Clifford and William Rodley for £400". (*Feet of Fines, Lincoln, 30 Elizabeth, Hilary Term.*) The inquest held at Gaynesborough, Lincolnshire,

August 30, 1606, states that John Heywood at his death, whose date is not given, was possessed of Somercotes with its adjacent properties. Of the subsequent history of the Somercotes manor I have been able to learn nothing, nor have I found out when Uphall manor in Little Carlton passed from Heywood ownership.

With most of these Elizabethan dramatists, our only chance of finding the birth date is to follow Bess Bridges' advice and "goe search the Church-booke where they were christened"; but these church-books, many of them still in the form of parchment rolls thrust away in vestry chest or vicarage closet—where I saw one inviting its own destruction by keeping company with the cheese—are not always to be had. If the baptism of a Thomas Heywood, son of Christopher Heywood, were recorded anywhere in Lincolnshire, one would expect to find it in the parish registers of Kelstern or possibly of Carlton, but the extant Kelstern register dates from 1651, and the registers of North and South Carlton from 1653. The worn registers of North and South Somercotes, both dating from 1558, I examined, doubtfully noting the baptism of Elizabeth, daughter of John Heywood, in 1572.

Christopher Heywood is more distinctive than most of the Heywood names. When Richard Heywood's eldest son would have been about twenty-one, a "Christofer Heywodde" was committed by order of the Privy Council to the Fleet, with instructions to the warden that the prisoner be kept "in warde without conference with any untyll he be examyned". (*Acts of the Privy Council*, April 13, 1559.) If this young offender were indeed the Christopher in question, the reason for his father's attempt to disinherit him would not be far to seek. The name occurs again, with a variant spelling of Heywood occasionally used in case of the dramatist even to his latest years, in the *Acts of the Privy Council*, August 2, 1586: "A letter to Sir Roger Woodhouse, William Rugge, Myles Hubberd and William Bleverhasset, esquires, to call before them one Phillip Lovell and Christopher Hayward and to require them to exhibite in wryting what they are able to alledg against eche other, sending unto them herewith the

articles exhibited unto their Lordships by Hayward against Lovell, who is to do the lyke against th' other before them, whereuppon they are to examine the substance and trothe of them on both sides, and to certifie the same unto their Lordships assone as they conveniently may''.

The Privy Council concerned itself, on July 24, 1597, with the debts of Anthony Key and Christopher Heywood, apparently London merchants. They owed five thousand pounds, representing to their creditors that they could not get back the money from their agents abroad, who had "ben put in trust by them theis fower yeares".

The conjecture that the rich old London lawyer, cautious in vain, and his prodigal heir, once familiar Cheapside figures
 "Whome Age hath worne out of all memorie"

were the progenitors of the dramatist, has a likelihood so appealing as to tempt one to ignore the lack of evidence that Christopher Heywood was ever husband and father. The thriving barrister of Lincoln's Inn, "Richard Heywood, gentleman", at home among the best of Kent, the Mores and the Ropers,—the keen buyer of real estate, who had rapidly rolled up a fortune to be as rapidly dissipated, the Governor of Highgate Grammar School, makes a fitting father for "Edmund Heywood, gentleman", in well-to-do retirement from the Exchequer office, intimate with at least two baronets. Such a position in life might naturally have come out of the opportunities open to the third son of a man of good social standing, with many business connections in London. And Edmund Heywood's nephew, the self-respecting player and learned writer, who had friends in the Inns of Court and who again and again expresses enthusiasm for the law, would be no incongruous grandson. It may be merely a coincidence that the parish registers of St. James, Clerkenwell, the London suburb where the dramatist dwelt during the latter part of his life and where he was buried August 16, 1641, record the burials, Oct. 31, 1608, of "Katherine Parry, widow", and March 25, 1650, of "Anne, d. of Richard Heywood", but these entries suggest a possibility that the widow of Richard Heywood, after the death of her second husband, was liv-

ing with her daughter Anne, perhaps only a little girl in 1570, near her grandson. The records also state that "Catharine d. of Jno Heywood" was buried June 20, 1648, and that "William Heywood householder" (see Edmund Heywood's will) was buried August 9, 1625.

Curiosity pauses, too, on one of Sir John Harington's *Epigrammes*, entitled:

OF OLD HAYWOODS SONNES

Old Haywoods sons did wax so wild and youthfull,
It made their aged father sad and wrathfull.
A friend one day, the elder did admonish
With threats, as did his courage halfe astonish.
How that except he would begin to thrive,
His Sire of all his goods would him deprive.
For whom, quoth he? Ev'n for your younger brother.
Nay then, said he, no feare, if't be none other.
My brother's worse then I, and till he mends,
I know, my father no such wrong intends,
Sith both are bad, to shew so partiall wrath,
To give his younger unthrift that hee hath".

The several Heywood mentions in Sir John Harington's epigrams usually refer to "old pleasant Heywood" the Epigrammatist, and so may this, although it should be remembered that Harington was a student at Lincoln's Inn in the early eighties, just between the dates when Christopher Heywood sold off Woolwich, and John Heywood lost Kelstern. (Compare the epigram *Yong Haywoods answere to my Lord of Warwicke*.)

One of Thomas Heywood's friends, Henry Peacham, forms something like a link between him and the elder playmaker of his name, for Peacham says in *The Compleat Gentleman*, 1622 (Chapter 10, *Of Poetrie*): "In the time of *Edward* the sixth lived * * * merrie John *Heywood*, who wrote his *Epigrammes*, as also Sir *Thomas More* his *Utopia*, in the parish wherein I was borne; where either of them dwelt and had faire possessions".

Of the many Heywood wills searched at Somerset House and in the Probate Registry of Lincoln, only one, apart from Richard Heywood's, could furnish the dramatist with both

his requisites of Lincolnshire birth and an Uncle Edmund. This is the will of a North Country clergyman, poor, devout, charitable, holding his few books precious. "Robert Heywoode clerk parson of Ashbye" made his will in sickness February 13, 1592-93. The bequests are picturesque,—“two ewes and twoe Lambes”, “the Quye with calfe”, “my newe freese coate”, “my graye ambling nagge”, “my Booke called the poore mans Librarye. and my gilded Testament”. He speaks of his “pore children”, grouping them all together with their mother, without naming them, as if they were all young—whereas the dramatist would have been of age in 1592—and leaves ten shillings to “my brother Edmond Heywoode”. This can hardly be Edmund Heywood of the Exchequer office, whose will, remembering as it does a wide circle of friends, mentions no name that occurs in Robert Heywood’s will. There was an Edmund Heywood of Barnoldby, a weaver, who made his will in 1612, leaving his loom and loom-gear, a heifer and forty shillings to his son Richard, twelve pence to his brother Thomas of Barnoldby and the same amount to “John Hawood” of Grimsby, whose father was apparently one James Heywood of Hatcliffe. The will of James Heywood, made in 1604, names as children “John Haywood” of Grimsby, Anne Haywood, William, James, Elizabeth and Edmund, but no Thomas. There was another “John Hawood”, a bachelor parson of Keelby, who in 1559 bequeathed his worldly goods,—a gown or two, a feather bed, a coverlet, a mantle, a surplice—to various individuals, apparently not relatives, leaving the residue of his simple store to a brother clergyman.

Thomas Heywood, though born in Lincolnshire, does not write, as Shakespeare writes, like one whose mind unfolded amid country sights and sounds. We search his pages in vain for pictures of spreading fens intersected by canals, of flocking wild-fowl, of rabbit-warrens, of sleepy rivers flowing through the green. The Lincolnshire he would have known was a low, wet land, slipping down from wolds to marshes that merged into the sea. Shakespeare wrote his oak-forested Warwickshire into play after play, but Heywood seems never

to have noticed the greened and yellowed boles of the great Lincoln beeches. He remembered the skylarks so soon lost to sight in the heavily drooping clouds (*Works*, VI, 369), but as he does not "play the thiefe in Flora's treasure", so his allusions to birds are few and conventional. A welcome exception is the song *Packe cloudes away* (*Works*, V, 227), with its invocation to "Robin red-breast", the bird that is still said to have a peculiar fondness for Uphall Manor, fearlessly entering by one or another of the forty windows of its stately front to watch sleepers from the "bed-end" or enjoy the hospitality of a crumb-strewn breakfast-board. Heywood's plays are impregnated with London. There is a single mention of Sutton Windmill (*Works*, I, 45) as against scores upon scores of intimate allusions to London streets and buildings, sports and pageants, the city-gates, the swinging signs, the bridges, the watermen, the "flat-cap" citizens "in velvet coats and chaines", the beggar with his clap-dish, the white-sheeted penitent, and always the chattering prentices, Fellow Crack and Fellow Nimblechaps, going to the conduit with the water-tankard or off to Hogsdon for plum-cakes and custards, while the youngest prentice is left disconsolate to "look to the shop". There is the ring of lifelong love in Heywood's praises of

"fair Thames,

Queen of fresh water, famous through the world",
and in his exclamations of a still boyish pride:

"What Architectures, Palaces, what Bowers,

What Citadels, what turrets, and what towers!"

Richard Heywood does not seem to have lived at any one of his four manors, but in London, which would have had a special fascination for his spendthrift heir. If Christopher Heywood married in the first freedom of his wrested inheritance, and if a son was born to him in Kelstern or in Uphall during his brief period of possession, that son would in all likelihood have passed the most of his childhood in the "glorious Citty" whose "beautiful aspect" rejoiced Thomas Heywood to the end.

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